

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1899.

No. 3.

## SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT ON THE MONEY QUESTION

### BARREN ORATORY OF SILVERITES

The Demonetization of Silver a Result of the Economic System—Bimetallism is an Impossibility and Free Silver a Capitalist Fake Issue.

The demonetization of silver is a consequence of the economic system. If it is a crime, the system that was its cause is a crime. People who pretend to consider the demonetization of silver a crime, and do not at the same time condemn the system do not reason right. A true friend of the people would fight against the system, and not its consequences.

But as long as the existing economic system is in force, all the attempts on the part of the United States or any other government to return to silver monometallism must necessarily result in disaster and the general financial ruin of the people. I say silver monometallism, because bimetallism as advocated by the silverites, is obviously an impossibility. The now existing gold standard has many advantages. (1) It is the standard of all civilized countries of the world; (2) the price of gold is comparatively stable, and (3) the great proportion of that metal used in the arts counteracts its fall in value as a commodity in consequence of increased production.

Let us now examine the proposition of the silverites—to enact the double standard at the arbitrary ratio, 16 to 1. The first question is how do the silverites propose to keep gold in the country? How will they hinder the money dealers from buying the depreciated gold coin and transporting it abroad? That will and must happen, and the famous 16 to 1 will turn practically to 16 to 0. Instead of bimetallism with an artificially fixed ratio, we will be on a single silver standard with a debased currency. But let us suppose for a moment that the money dealers will turn angels, and leave the underrated gold in the country. The present market ratio of silver to gold is about 32 to 1. Where will the difference between the actual and fictitious ratio come from? Who has silver to sell? Who will be compelled to buy all the silver of the world, and pay for it a double price in gold? Who will be the gainer, and who the loser? To put these questions means to answer them. It is obvious that the gainer in the gigantic transaction will be the party that has silver to sell, and the loser the buying party. Who will be the sellers? The owners of silver mines. And the buyer—the government of the United States. The government is not a producer of commodities. It only consumes what it gets from the people in the shape of taxes in exchange for certain public services. The actual loser will be the people. If that is not obvious, I do not know what is.

The champions of silver try to convince the people that the price of silver will rise in case they win. But they forget that the increased demand for silver will stimulate the production of the practically inexhaustible mines and counteract successfully the tendency of the price of silver to rise. They forget the tendency of commodities in a mercantile society to flow irresistibly to the place of demand, just as water flows from the higher to the lower level. The quantity of silver is practically unlimited.

According to the assertions of the silverites, there is too little money in the country. But that is not true. There is plenty of money in the United States. The trouble is not in the quantity of money, but in the circulation. The money in circulation is the life of trade, not the idle, hoarded money. One dollar in rapid circulation is bound to do more good to trade than thousands of dollars hidden in a safe. Money that does not perform the function of money is practically dead to the world. The inflation of currency does not mean increase of the circulation of money, it means an increase of dead capital, dead money. Such an inflation can do good to nobody, and is bound to bring ruin to many. The quantity of dead money in the country is already beyond the desirable maximum, and shows an unhealthy condition of affairs. To increase it is folly. Artificial increase of the quantity of money in the country means increase in prices of commodities. If the quantity of money is doubled, the prices will double. That is a law of political economy.

What will be the effect on the level of prices in case of limited coinage of silver? Will the wages of the workingman rise accordingly? But will not at the same time the prices of commodities rise correspondingly? The toiler will suffer more than any other class of citizens under the unlimited coinage of silver.

The demagogues of the silver party call gold the money of the rich, silver the money of the poor. They think poor money is good enough for poor people. As a matter of fact, the producer, the workingman and the farmer depend a great deal more on the stability of money values, of money that under all circumstances represents a certain fixed sum. That gold is less subjected to fluctuation in value, more stable in price every fair minded man has to admit.

The silverites try to convince the people that debtors will profit when money is cheap. That is indeed a very cheap argument. Let us see who are the creditors who will lose in these transactions. The big money lenders, who lend money to the government will be able to defend their interests. You can rely on that. Controlling the money market of the world, they can easily enforce their terms by skillful financial operations, the efficiency of which may be equal if not greater than a great devastating war. But the small creditors, the depositors of money in the banks, the small investors in different commercial enterprises—they will be the losers. Will not their loss be the loss of the country, the loss of the people? Maybe the silver-producing states will profit by the opening of their mines? Even that is more than doubtful. Mining countries are, as a rule, poorer than agricultural ones, as Mexico, Bolivia, Peru and Siberia are poorer than European Russia, Germany and the United States. Only the owners of mines get rich, but, to the people in general, mining is one of the least profitable enterprises.

If the unlimited coinage of silver should be adopted in the United States, we would witness two periods, one of sudden powerful contraction of currency on account of the disappearance of gold from the country, and then a limited inflation of currency. But the temporary contraction and limited inflation would prove fatal to the finances and commerce of the country.

The creditors would demand their money paid in the old standard before the legislation of the unlimited coinage of silver. The depositors of banks would withdraw their money. Credit would be ruined, and with it all business transactions would have to come to a standstill. The silverites want to make the people believe that all the financial calamities of the last twenty years are due to the crime of demonetization of silver. They do not take into consideration any other powerful factors, as change of the transportation rates, increase of production, competition of foreign nations, the tremendous development of the mammoth industry and its disastrous consequences for the wage-worker. Indeed, there is not an argument of the silverites sound enough to stand the test of criticism. There is nothing in their argument but confusion of thought and wrong reasoning, cast in the shoddy garment of demagogic phrases. Even the term "Free silver" is intentionally misleading. It is chosen with the purpose to arouse the enthusiasm of the thoughtless crowd by the known charm of the sound of "Free." But, as we have seen, there is nothing free about free silver. If the unlimited coinage of silver should be called by its proper name, the champions of it would not be able to catch a fly with it. The poor, common laborer had no unlimited amount of silver to be coined. He is glad if he has enough bread and butter for himself and his family. He knows that he will not get any money without any compensation of some kind on his part. But he does not grasp the real meaning of the movement proclaimed with high sounding phrases. These high sounding phrases play the part of the spider web for catching yotes. But it is the duty of citizenship to tell to the people that unlimited coinage of silver means compulsion on the part of the owners of silver to make the people of the United States buy all the silver they offer for double its real price. Isador Ladoff.

Rev. S. L. Beal is usually enthusiastic when he makes up his mind that a cause is right and enlists his services for its upbuilding. Rev. Mr. Beal is a member of the Brockton branch of the Social Democratic party, and lifts up his voice on all occasions in explaining and upholding the principles of Socialism. He has been heard at the various social gatherings of the branch, at their public meetings and elsewhere and is counted as one of the party workers who is doing very good work.

Over the door of a church in Arizona are these words: "This is the gate to heaven." And on the panel of the door is a notice which says: "Closed by order of the American Loan Co." The corporation foreclosed the mortgage which they held on the church and actually closed the "gate of heaven" to increase its profits.—Sierra Gazette.

Remember the Leaflets, 35c. per 100.

## GRADUAL ADVANCE FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE

### SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

That "Everything Belongs to Everybody in Common and Nothing Can Belong to Anybody in Particular," is Not Socialism.

The lines of demarcation between Socialism and communism are so little understood that in the general acceptance the terms are synonymous. The masses are led to believe that under Socialism there would be a state of "free-booting," or economic piracy by which a propertyless person could approach his neighbor and compel him to surrender one-half of his property on the theory that "Everything belongs to everybody in common, and nothing can belong to anybody in particular."

The introduction of Socialism would mean the extinction of selfishness, as we know it, and its attendant "offspring," greed and avarice. Self would become subservient to the common interests of society as a whole.

While there may be some difference of opinion as to the manner in which an ideal Socialistic state may be brought about, there can be no doubt that Socialists agree that the existence of the present economic misery can be traced to the individual ownership of land and the economic means, viz.: of production and distribution, the change from individual to collective ownership, in this connection would effect the abolition of rent, interest, taxes, and speculative profits. Economic wages under the Socialistic order of things would include the promoters' profit, and it is in this particular that the Socialistic and communistic theories are fully in accord with each other. On the other hand, communism does not recognize individual capacities and capabilities, but argues that uniformity in this respect is the result of a training under proper conditions. The latter it is sought to accomplish through a novel system of education and adjustment of the conditions of labor.

While Socialism simply demands the ownership of the means of production, communism endeavors to regulate the consumption in accordance with the actual need of individuals, and does not consider the capacity for production in individuals as the standard for distribution. There is a type of revolutionary Socialism that believes in applying forcible means in attaining its purpose; but the vast mass of Socialists are conservative enough to pin their faith to the evolutionary process, and the fact that the present corrupt economic manifestations are the result of the competitive system and its promoting accompaniments, that these are untenable and are gradually resolving themselves into the semblance of Socialistic order.

At the time of the Utopian speculative communism, it was held that men in their natural state were on an equal physical and intellectual footing. According to the theory of Babeuf, superiority in talent is the result of culture, i. e., artificial development. R. Owen, an Englishman, made several attempts to establish a practical demonstration of the theories of communism in erecting a cotton mill in New Lanark, and a communistic colony in America known as New Harmony. Both of these attempts were not as successful as Owen hoped to see them. In his work, entitled "A New View of Society," he advocated a system of production in which the producers delivered up their products to the community and received from it whatever it deemed necessary for their maintenance.

The transition from Utopian to scientific Socialism had its origin in the school of Henri De St. Simon, who based his views on the principle set forth by Adam Smith, in which the latter characterized labor as the source of all wealth. St. Simon carried out this theory to the extent of advocating that all classes of society, including the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the military, should be subordinate to the industrial class, who are continually supplying the material wants of life.

The value of St. Simon's teachings to Socialism consisted chiefly in his advocating an improvement of existing economic conditions, a theory wholly foreign to communistic views hitherto. Louis Blanc, in a very popular work published by him in 1841, advocates the abolition of free competition through the establishment of state enterprises which, owing to their superior facilities, would gradually absorb private enterprises. The most eminent communistic writer of France was Proudhon, who in one of the most popular of his works seeks to defend the proposition that "Property is Simply Robbery."

Karl Marx, the great German Socialist, in his work, "Capital," asserts that

the origin of capitalism exists in the fact that capital is enabled to profit by the productive activity of labor. If, for instance, it is necessary for a man to work six hours a day to secure a means of living, and he is required to perform six hours of additional work, he is actually working thirty-six hours every week for the capitalist who employs him. With the enhancement of the facilities of production the condition of the laborer becomes still more unfavorable. In 1848, in common with Engels, Marx issued a manifesto in which he urged the abolition of private ownership of real-estate and the right of inheritance, and sought an introduction of state ownership of the means of transportation, and a national credit system.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that Socialism has gradually evolved into a logical science distinctive from communism, and that while Socialism and communism hold some principles which coincide, the former has eliminated the feature which has at all times been a most serious stumbling block to a successful application of communistic theories, that is, the radical extinction of individuality, and the stimulating influences resulting from freedom of action secured by it. While communism retains that part of the Swiss motto which is, "One for All," it fails to give to its followers the other part which, when properly translated is, "All for One."

R. O. Stoll.

### Let's Boom It

All sorts of vagaries are passing current in this country as Socialism, and it should be the mission of the Social Democratic party to make as clear as possible what Scientific Socialism means.

Nothing, in the same space, does this so well as a pamphlet I have received from its author, Rev. Chas. H. Vail, pastor of a church in Jersey City, N. J. The title is: "The Industrial Evolution," and in its 34 pages I have found the most concise and interesting treatment of the historic basis of Socialism I have ever read.

To clear the confused minds and to start others right this pamphlet should be circulated by every member of the S. D. P. to the limit of his or her ability. The cost is five cents per copy. It is printed on good paper, and in my opinion the manner of treatment would be hard to improve on. Indisputable as to fact and irrefutable as to logic, it makes an ideal propaganda document. Let us boom it.

Chas. R. Martin.

Tiffin, Ohio.

### Individual Initiative

We are taught that political freedom means a surrendering on the part of the individual of certain privileges in order that he may enjoy the advantages of being a shareholder or participant in the collective or united management of the Government. In the same way industrial freedom means a surrendering of certain privileges which some call "the right to individual enterprise" in order that he may enjoy the advantages of a collective or united management of industries.

In order to obtain political freedom, man surrendered the chance of ruling his fellow man by physical force. In order to secure industrial freedom he must surrender the chance of being able to rule his fellow man by superior business cunning. Just as our forefathers overthrew kings and substituted collective management of those things which kings had governed, so must the trust magnates, who are becoming oppressive, be dethroned and a collective management of those things which they now govern be substituted. For they govern as absolutely in certain lines as any monarch who ever reigned.

It may be that the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth will be brought about by revolution, or it may be the result of a gradual evolution, but it is bound to come, as the masses are gradually being educated in this direction and Socialism is growing with an irresistible force, and in three years more it will be the most prominent question before the American public.

E. Val. Putnam.

### United Action at St. Louis

The Central Trades and Labor Union, the Central Bellamy Club and the Social Democratic Branches of St. Louis have got together for a big demonstration in the fall, at which Eugene V. Debs will be invited to speak on "Trusts, the Middle Class and the Wage Workers." One of the largest auditoriums in St. Louis will be engaged for the great union meeting. The committee of arrangements is as follows: From the Central Labor Union: Messrs. Dave Kreyling, John Goedeker, L. C. Cleaver; Central Bellamy Club: E. Val Putnam, Julius Friton, W. A. Hall; Social Democratic Branches: G. A. Hoehn, Frank Ujka, William Ruesche.

## ABOLITION OF WAR AND THE STRUGGLE TO LIVE

### WHEN WAR SHALL BE UNKNOWN

The Inauguration of Universal Peace Waits on Economic Freedom Through the Abolition of Private Ownership of Land and Capital.

At a time when the nations of the earth are represented in a peace conference, a few thoughts on the subject of war will not be out of place in The Herald. One would think that 1,800 years would be long enough for civilized countries to progress to that point where their differences would be settled without a brutal resort to force. But it is not so. The evolution of man is a wonderful and a complex thing. Our evolution from the barbaric state to our present one has been in progress for hundreds and hundreds of years and we are yet but little better than barbarians, running around with clubs in our hands seeking whom we may devour. About the only difference being, that we have merely changed weapons. Nevertheless we are progressing toward a higher plane, where men shall live in harmony, and brutal war shall be adjudged criminal and a violation of the law of civilization. To properly understand the position I take in relation to the subject under discussion, it becomes necessary to look back over the history of the past. From this history I shall attempt to glean some facts that will help to make clear why and when I expect war will be abolished and international arbitrations inaugurated. If we study carefully the conditions of the people a few centuries ago we will find that the people were divided into small groups or tribes, each one with their chief to lead them in their wars with each other. War was waged almost continuously at that time, every one was a warrior, and went constantly armed, for they were called upon to fight at a moment's notice. Some neighboring tribe would come upon them suddenly and they must be ready to resist the aggressions of the enemy.

For ages, this strife between clans and tribes was going on, every one serving as his own defender; but during this time some of these tribes were growing in size and power. Larger bodies were drawn together, and they became so powerful that the dim outlines of nations and empires could be seen on the horizon of the future. Then it became unnecessary for all to be soldiers. They found that a smaller number, well organized and disciplined was sufficient for their protection and they organized armies to carry on their wars. So, then, in a crude state were the standing armies of today brought into existence.

The people began to settle down to peaceful pursuits. Nations came into existence, each with their own customs, languages, laws and armies. Relieved from the burden of continuous warfare, they were able to develop their lands and their industries. Through all these hundreds of years, all nations have maintained their standing armies. Millions of dollars have been wasted annually in keeping these armies in readiness for war. The labor of millions of men and women have been wasted, in feeding and clothing these armies while they have been pursuing their unproductive vocation. Millions of lives have been sacrificed on the battlefield simply because the people had not progressed far enough in civilization to dwell in harmony and arbitrate their difference.

It has been said, that there is a reason for all things, and there must be some reason why all this has transpired as we have seen. It is perfectly natural to suppose that there is some particular thing to fight over when one people declare war against another.

What caused the wars of the past? As a Socialist I maintain that the private ownership of social property was, primarily the cause of all the strife of the past, and of the present. The tribes, in their wars, fought to get possession of the property of some other tribe. After nations and empires had taken the place of wandering bands and tribes, war was still waged for the same cause. One nation, thinking that it would be an advantage to them to get possession of the whole or part of the territory of some other nation, enters into dispute with them over it and the dispute culminates in war. To the victor belongs the spoils and the payment of tribute is enforced. The weak must pay tribute to the strong. All the nations of the world have in their national politics been actuated by the principle of individualism.

They have considered themselves as separate and distinct, with no connecting interest, with the other nations of the world. They have overlooked the fact that the people of all countries are creatures of the same mould, and that they should be one united brotherhood with

(Continued on page 4.)



## Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board  
JESSE COX, Chairman  
SEYMOUR STEEDMAN, Secretary  
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER  
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor  
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.  
126 Washington St., Chicago.

53

is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 54 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1899.

J. Jensen, chairman of the United Trades' Union of Denmark, headquarters at Copenhagen, appeals for aid in behalf of 30,000 men locked out for the purpose of breaking down their organizations.

Nebraska populists are opposed to fusion because they "got nothing in the deal with the Democrats" in '96. They also decided to "keep in the middle of the road," presumably until they get something.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs was prevented from attending the Buffalo conference by lecture engagements at two Chataqua gatherings in South Dakota. He closes the present season on the 8th inst. at Mayville, Mich.

They are all "Socialists too" at Buffalo, but Edward W. Bemis in his report to the Chicago Record said a remark by Mrs. Corinne Brown that Socialism had scarcely been mentioned before her address, was true.

Pingree's political strike against the reformers is followed by a strike of 600 employes at the Pingree shoe factory. The firm of Pingree & Smith has taken a position antagonistic to union labor, but the shoes have been well advertised.

The new congressional librarian, Herbert Putnam, has refused to turn the library into a political asylum and the office-brokers threaten to defeat his confirmation. Mr. Putnam is a good librarian, but quite evidently a poor "patriot."

Socialism is a thousand years away! So? But almost simultaneously it has brought defeat to the government forces at Brussels, Rome and Berlin and defeated the reactionaries of France. We are coming! Keep your ear to the ground and catch the swell and the tramp.

Comrade Mrs. Corinne Brown scored a good point at the Buffalo conference when she said that the attacks upon Socialism by the corporate interests of the country, while the single tax and other reform movements were treated with indifference, was in itself evidence of the superiority of her party.

The "reformers" want to make terms with the present masters of economic power, which will enable them in turn to make terms with others. Robbery, with the privilege to rob on a petty scale diffused among themselves, instead of robbery on a large scale by trusts, is what the "reformers" want.

Do you notice that the thousands of traveling salesmen who are being laid off by the trust movement are not rich? They are compelled to organize an employment bureau for mutual help. Not less than 35,000 of them have been dispensed with and 25,000 others have been obliged to accept sweeping salary reductions with resignations—the only alternative presented. So we have among one class of employes 60,000 ready to swear that the times are not prosperous.

While a down-east clergyman was engaged in fulsomely eulogizing the "pure, high-minded and patriotic" judges of the land, Judge Mattison at Evansville, Ind., to accommodate a coal mining company, issued a blanket injunction restraining the United Mine Workers from interfering with their employes in any way. He set the hearing to make the injunction permanent ten weeks away, and then left the city for a vacation without hearing a single word from the miners. "Pure and high-minded!" Certainly.

The Social Democratic party and the cause of Socialism was represented at the Buffalo conference by Mrs. Corinne Brown of Chicago. Mrs. Brown, in presenting the claims of our party, argued that it went to the heart of all industrial and social questions by proposing the abolition of wage slavery—i. e., it would bring in public ownership of all business, so that every one would work for society as a whole or for himself, and not for profit and interest of the capitalists. She held that the attacks made upon the Socialist party and their allies, the labor organizations, by

the corporate interests of the country, while they treated the single tax and many other social movements with indifference, was in itself evidence of the superiority of her party.

A former bookkeeper in a Chicago bank was found the other day in an exhausted and almost dying condition; due to starvation. He recently gave up his position, in which he was considered an expert, on account of illness, and in a short time was penniless. None but the class in control of social capital are secure against starvation.

Gen. Charles King, who has "been there" and is generally regarded as a loyal soldier, makes a statement concerning the Filipinos that flatly contradicts the administration tooters. He says that the natives are "intelligent to a high degree, the best natural musicians he has ever heard, competent enough to form a good and stable government." It is a relief to have assurances of this kind from a reliable and authoritative source, but how can Gen. King hope to escape the branding iron of the lying loyalists?

The proposition of Joseph R. Buchanan, supported by H. N. Casson in the Buffalo conference, that the right way to get national reforms is to organize a million voters who shall sign a pledge to take a referendum upon any proposed issue, which one of the old parties "would be certain to adopt," cannot be expected to meet with that universality of acquiescence that a geometrical proposition demands.

Patriotism is obviously at a low ebb among some people when it is necessary to arrange a demonstration to prove its existence. At the Buffalo conference Dr. Thomas of Chicago spoke on "Militarism," mentioning several times the name of Dewey without eliciting any sign of applause. Not only did the conference fail to work itself into a frenzy over the name of the man who gave cannon to Aguinaldo, but when they were scored for their disloyalty by a delegate from New York his remarks were received with "derisive laughter." Next day, to make amends, a "special occasion was made to greet the name of Dewey with prolonged applause." Patriotism prearranged—but after all it is an old brand.

### LABOR'S NEW CHAMPION

In his speech to the labor organizations at Pittsburgh, Nelson A. Miles, major-general of the United States army for suppressing freedom in the Philippines and protecting organized capital in America, attempted an extraordinary bunco game on the wage slaves of Monopolydom. His speech showed that whatever differences may exist between him and McKinley on embalmed beef and imperialism, he is equally as skillful and hypocritical as the latter in taking the blind and ignorant workingman into his confidence. Imagine this man, who at one time wanted to mount guns all over the government buildings of Chicago and elsewhere, saying to the class against whom the guns would have been used: "There was a time when there was a wider gulf between you who toil and THOSE WHO DO NOT TOIL than there is today." Then listen to the plaudits of approval from the "leaders" on the platform that the gulf between them and the fellows who live on their toil is growing narrower! "My sympathies have been from boyhood to the present time with the man who labors," said this new found champion of labor's cause. But the records will be searched in vain for a particle of evidence that his sympathies were with the unfortunate people of Pullman, the victims of Pullman's avarice and tyranny, whose cause is now recognized by all right-minded persons to have deserved the sympathy of just and honorable men. On the contrary, this person who has always been more dignified by than dignifying to his office, wanted to "break the backbone of the strike" by slaughtering the friends of the poor, wretched and helpless people who were skinned in the slave pens of Pullman.

That such a man should be given receptions by the class that would willingly see the Republic turned into a huge arsenal to protect their legalized and sanctified larcenies; that such a man should be banqueted by his masters and escorted with military honors by his lackeys, is understandable. But that his claptrap professions of friendship for the plundered poor who do the Republic's work will be received by them with any degree of seriousness, is not to be thought of. Such utterly nauseating platitudes as this new champion of labor used may catch a few of the purchasable leaders of organized labor, but the masses who have felt the mailed hand of private capitalism and the military arm of a capitalistic government, at Homestead, Hazleton, Coeur d'Alene, Spring Valley and Wardner, will not be deceived by the friend in the military uniform.

Said Theodore Roosevelt: "I have come in contact with the stuff of which heroes and statesmen are made, and I have been close to the foundations of the republic." The speech was made in Milwaukee.

### EVENING REFLECTIONS

A society that produced wealth for social use, and not for private profit, would not need any standing armies.

Socialists want the tools of production, which are a special growth and inheritance, used to create peace, sunshine and happiness.

Abolish the fleeing class in society and the fighting class will be unnecessary.

Disarmament and universal peace wait on the adoption of universal justice through socialized production and distribution of wealth.

A great many people who have rather reluctantly come to see that trusts are not "visionary," begin to doubt whether Socialism is a "dream."

The substitution of a system of production for use in place of one for private profit would smooth the furrows of care from the brow of humanity, and make happiness contagious.

Ingersoll once said that if he had been consulted in the arrangement of this world, he would have made health contagious instead of disease. But a provision would have been required to make the capitalist system of industry impossible.

Preaching thrift to workingmen who don't get enough to eat, no matter how industrious they are, is entirely worthy of the Hannaized period of American history.

Among the best paid men in the country, considering the work they do, are the editors who rehash the old chestnut that Socialism means "dividing up."

The capitalist class can make all robbery legal, and all usurpation constitutional. Has the "long green," you know.

We are in the midst of the greatest revolution in human history; but the average man doesn't seem to know it.

In spite of all the clamor against trusts, the war of extermination against the middle class with its small means proceeds with merciless exactness.

The poor, blind dupe who toils ten hours a day for a cheap suit of clothes and three cheap meals a day, don't want a system like Socialism, that would make him anything but a cheap man.

The persistence of poverty and social degradation are directly traceable to private ownership of those things which no individual conceived, no individual preserves, and no individual operates; things that are socially conceived, socially preserved and socially operated.

Have you ever tried to think what tremendous changes are being worked out in society by the separation of the wealth-producers from the means of gaining a living?

Trying to "reform" corrupt politics by carefully nourishing the taproot of corruption—private property rights in social capital—is the task the "reformer" has set himself. He might as well try to lift himself by his boot-strap, dam the Mississippi with a sieve, tip the Rockies with a toothpick, or any other impossible thing.

Some men don't care to help Socialism because its success is "far away." If Socialism could help them out of their present stress and strain, they would be Socialists at once.

An expansion of the opportunities of all the people to gain a livelihood, with freedom from a capitalistic "take-off," is an object worthy of all the genius in the land.

It isn't politics that consigns the workers to destitution and the shirkers to luxury; it is the capitalist system of industry and wages, which divides the workers' product in the proportion of one to the worker and nine to the shirker.

It is not politics that breeds corruption, but the subordination of politics to the interests of private-capital.

For the masses of the people who do the work of the world, Health, Home and Happiness are impossible under the capitalist system of production.

A society that takes from 25 to 50 years labor from a man, and absorbs all the wealth he creates, and when he is "worked out" offers him no alternative but the jail or the poorhouse, may be Christian; but isn't it heartless?

Last Friday in the French chamber Millevoe, republican, said that he desired to interpellate Millerand, the Socialist member of the cabinet and minister of commerce, relative to the manner in which he proposed to apply his socialistic doctrines. The chamber by a vote of 357 to 165 supported Millerand's request to postpone the question for a month.

### MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Workingmen have either today to wear out or rust out. They die by work or die by lack of it. They are cursed by too much work or too little.

They are worked to death, or unworked to death. If they work, they starve; if they do not work, they starve.

Slaving or starving, they have about as much chance of being successful in the "pursuit of happiness" as they would have of catching black bass in an empty water bucket.

It is little wonder that so many workingmen should prefer the certainty of death to the uncertainty of life.

How many cases of suicide can you remember having read of in the past year, in which the cause was stated as "despondency?"

In each case it was but the last pitiful act in a tragic life-drama, in which the business villain at last triumphs over the industrial hero in the play.

A suicide is but the last despairing flash of a trampled torch; the public glimpses of an oppressed soul rushing from obscurity to obscurity.

Every suicide is a social murder. There is no such thing as suicide as apart from murder.

Suicide is simply a murder in which the murderers force the victim to take his own life, and then add insult to injury by blackening his memory with the crime.

No man would take his life under normal conditions. It is simply the abnormal conditions of a social life that force him to the act.

And as part of society, you are guilty of his blood!

Every time a human being dies because of the lack of those things which God has granted, that Nature has supplied, and that you, in your selfishness, refuse to share, you are a murderer!

As a voter, you have the partial power to abolish the abnormal conditions that cause so many to take their own lives, and if you have not exercised that power, you cannot escape sharing in the social sin.

While millions are being spent yearly in the attempt to make proselytes to the Christian creed, not a dime is being expended by the church to make the condition of labor more tolerable.

Enough is spent in one year trying to release aliens from spiritual bondage as would release America from wage-bondage forever.

The trouble is, that so much of our religion is exported to foreign countries that there isn't enough left to supply the home demand.

It is cheaper to sympathize with oppressed foreigners than to supply the needs of the suffering at our door.

Many long to sacrifice themselves on the altar of foreign missions, and yet are unwilling to sacrifice an effort, a moment, or a cent to live practical Christianity at home.

Religion that cannot be lived at home is not worth its carrying expenses to any foreign land.

The labor movement is the great religious movement of the present day.

No man can serve God who does not help his fellowmen, and no man can help his fellowmen who permits the existence of the curse of commercial competition.

The curse of the world at all times has been selfishness, and selfishness is today embodied in the great financial corporations that dictate the conditions of industrial life.

And whoso would serve God and help man must assist in removing this great industrial barrier from the world's pathway of moral progress.

We have nothing to do with God; we have everything to do with men.

We have nothing to do with the future life; we have everything to do with the present life in us and about us.

We have nothing to do with New Jerusalem; we have everything to do with New York and New Haven, and the other cities in which we live.

We have nothing to do with the Devil; we have everything to do with Mark Hanna, and the sooner the better.

It pays to be a criminal, instead of an honest man.

A certain murderer in Alfred, Me., has just been convicted at the expense to the State of \$3,000, and now is to be supported in the jail until September.

During that time his wants will be supplied at public expense, while the wants of thousands of honest workingmen will go unfilled.

Many an honest man will flatten his nose against a bakery window, while felons and criminals are eating at the State's expense.

So Alger is to have an anti-trust platform?

As a cabinet-maker, he should know that there is no use in patching up a rotten platform with a sound board.

The reason that times are so hard lies

in the fact that the working class is too soft.

If workingmen had firmness of purpose, and stiffness of backbone, instead of being the victims of every capitalistic tyrant, they would find out that the making of "times" lies in their own hands.

If we were really men, instead of servile serfs, we would pluck down these proud usurpers of industrial power, and make our own conditions of life.

Freedom is never given to slaves; it is always taken by men.

So be a man, and if you can't be a man, be a woman.

Merlin.

### How Far Backward

"Smash the trusts!" is a cry that fills the land these days. It comes from those who pride themselves on being "reformers," while the democrats grow frantic in their shouts, and even the republicans are joining in the chorus. This applies to both individuals and party conventions.

In discussing the subject I have had no little amusement in trying to have my "smash the trusts" friends tell me how far they want to go in their demand for a journey backward. The howlers claim that the trusts prevent competition and throw thousands of people out of work. Which I am ready and willing to admit; but in return they are compelled to agree that the producing of a given amount of goods is being reduced to the lowest possible point, both in time and cost, which is secured by eliminating all useless labor and the use of the greatest amount of perfect machinery.

When the question of machinery is reached the average "smash the trusts" howler jumps at it and begins to talk of stopping the manufacture of new machines, or begins to recite that other contradictory story about machinery making work for more people. It does not need long argument to show that the modern trust would be an impossibility but for the wonderful development of machinery, with its facility for multiplying the articles needed to meet the wants of humanity.

I urge that good, common horse sense would teach that it was the proper thing to get the greatest amount of wealth produced at the least outlay of time and labor, and that any person or persons who made it possible to grow two blades of grass where only one had grown was a benefactor, and should be honored by society. About this time it begins to become plain that the ownership of machinery is the key to the situation.

The systematic organization and subdivision of the productive forces so as to secure the greatest results in the least time is too clear to admit of dispute, and the greater the use of machinery, the larger the results, logically follows, and if the element of private profit was knocked out, the continuation of the systematic organization of workers, using all the displaced idle and useless labor, assisted by machinery, could but result in a reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest point that would give everybody employment and produce all that the demands of society called for. This is the Socialist aim and ideal.

Our "smash the trusts" friends having admitted the part played by machinery in making possible the trust, are urging a backward movement that I find they don't know where to draw the line on.

Giving all the useless traveling men back their jobs will not satisfy them; opening up a lot of little cut-throat competing shops will not settle the question, and as you come down the line you find the individual who wants to do away with the machine that took his job. I ask: How far backward are you going—to the little cross-road shop, to the stage coach, or where? Draw the line, please.

When you find how hard this problem is, try your mind on the Socialist solution. Study the historical development of industrial society and see if the position taken by the Socialists is not in harmony with the onward and upward course of social and industrial development. We say the modern trust is the inevitable outcome of the capitalistic (competitive) system of production, and that the fuller development will be the ownership of all the means of production and distribution by the people, through a thoroughly democratic organization of society. Doing away with private profit, the modern incentive and regulator of production, and leaving demand to be the incentive and only regulator.

This will insure to each worker the enjoyment of his or her socially due share of the wealth produced. The socially due share will be just the difference between what one's individual labor can create and that which would result from the most scientific subdivision and organization of the labor forces in connection with the greatest amount of most perfect machinery. A difference that few understand the magnitude of.

Think it over, friends. Quit trying to travel like a crawfish. Join the forward movement, which has its hosts gathering in all parts of the world.

CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, Ohio.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscription a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.



## AMONG THE BRANCHES

### BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

#### COLORADO.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. The Hon. Chairman, Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1799 Washington street.

#### CONNECTICUT.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in third month, at 252 Cedar street, at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank street.

#### ILLINOIS.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 264 Westworth ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nagli's Hall, 535 Blue Island ave. Secretary, Fred Jonas, 667 Center ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karcel, cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary, Frank Ort, 866 W. 19th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 535 Blue Island ave.

#### INDIANA.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and second Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

#### MARYLAND.

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 311 W. German St. Secretary, Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay St.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Organizer, H. Schlichting, 30 James street.

Branch 3, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 2 Summer St., near Market St., business meetings every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Opea house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Flin Sec. Treas.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets 1st and 3d Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 323 W. Elm street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston-meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 95 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 91 Webster st., Sec. Treas.

Branch No. 9, Massachusetts, Brockton-meets first and third Tuesday each month for business, in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, 323 W. Elm street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 125 Washington street, Boston. All communications and money sent for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the Secretary, Margaret Haile, 5 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

#### MISOURI.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Sanderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday at 8 p. m. at 1222 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. P. Haussler, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m. and every 3rd Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langhitt, 3430 Tennessee avenue.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Bohemian National Hall, 13th and Wyoming streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meler, 204 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Bohemian National Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every 3d Sunday at 8 p. m. at 480 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenthal, 857 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Social Turner Hall, corner 21st and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Stelgerwalt, 1112 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1301 W. 9th street, Sec. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twenty-sixth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 3546 St. Ferdinand street. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartsborn, 3560 St. Ferdinand ave.

St. Louis Sixth Ward Branch (9th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m. at 1021 South Twelfth street. Organizer John Zach, 1021 South 12th street.

St. Louis Eighth Ward Branch (10th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m. and every 3d Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at Bohemian National Hall, corner Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, L. P. Tomsen, 2231 7th street.

St. Louis Thirteenth Ward Branch (11th Mo.) meets every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m. and every 3d Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at Bohemian National Hall, Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, Oliver A. Nelson, 1516 Mississippi avenue.

#### NEW YORK.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 112 Clinton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 153 Suffolk st.

Branch 3, New York (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 24 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 53rd st., Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month at the home of the "Voice of Labor," at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Roseauer, Secretary, 231 Madison street.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y., Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge street, meets every 3d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York (28 Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at Paulhaber Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 228 E. 40th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Fox 8th street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division St., Secretary.

#### OHIO.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. of L. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. E. Laird, 25 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 3, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening, 7:30 p. m. Funk Hall, South 24th and Josephine sts. President, W. John, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 221 Jane st.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 8:15 South 21st street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gerson, Secretary.

#### WISCONSIN.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 553 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, 8. 11th street, Secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 773 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard street and 8th avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 721 Windlake avenue.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterius Hall, 7 Center street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the 1st Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 413 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

A new branch with a large membership of well-informed and energetic men has also been organized at De Soto, Kansas, by Comrade F. R. Miller.

## Rockland's Big Meeting

The second of a series of out-door social gatherings of the joint branches of Brockton, Whitman and Rockland, was held at Rockland, Mass., on the orchard lawn of our genial and hospitable comrade, Wm. Soper, where the guests began to gather about 11 o'clock a. m. The party was treated by the host to a hearty spread, with liquid refreshments, and the gentlemen smoked and all conversed freely till the meeting was called to order, presided over by Comrade Joseph Hinkley, who introduced pleasantly the many speakers and other talent, who responded willingly to the call and for nearly four hours held the closest attention of the enthusiastic and delighted audience, numbering at its close more than a hundred, among whom were many ladies.

Comrade Jabez Tabor, of Brockton, discoursed at length and very interestingly upon the principles of the S. D. P. as he read its platform and demands, which were heard and understood by many of the neighbors for the first time. J. M. Caldwell made a telling speech on the necessity of this political organization of the workers, which as the little flame started to check the devastation of the swiftly advancing prairie fire should meet and overwhelm the threatening, crushing power of the two old capitalist-controlled parties.

Mr. Wm. Soper appealed to all thoughtful minds in the name of righteousness, truth and justice to arouse from their apathy and for the sake of their children and the generation of the future to identify themselves with the S. D. P. and peaceably avert the armed strife which we feel will ensue if these means fail.

Chas. Malpas commented on the social nature of the assembly and the harmony and concordance of ideas which mark all our gatherings. He derided the action of the Brockton board of aldermen, one member of which had finally plucked up courage enough to move to shoulder the eight-hour work day and half holiday question on to the finance committee, and another, a republican, who disapproved of the workmen increasing their poverty by spending their nickels and half holidays at Highland park, the cheapest resort for recreation that that city offers.

Comrade Lowell remarked depreciatingly on his ability as a speaker and promptly refuted it in an able comparison of the value to a community of the business man and the laborer, much to the disadvantage of the former, and passed remarks on the charity (?) of Carnegie.

Comrade Soper discoursed eloquently on woman suffrage and the powerful but often unappreciated influence of the mothers from the ethical standpoint on the advancement of the nation, paid full tribute to their intellectual ability and appealed to husbands and brothers to work with this party for political freedom for the struggling women.

Comrades Bosworth, Thompson, Beal and Higgins made brief but pointed remarks, and Rev. Father Maurice O'Connor, while not being able to agree on all points, expressed the belief that the party by the individual rectitude of its members would most surely exert a telling influence in a political movement and cautioned them to a policy tempered by sound judgment and moderation.

After an informal business session the party adjourned, to meet again at Brockton on the evening of the 16th and at Whitman for a similar day's outing on the 18th, and the gathering was pronounced a complete success and probably the most enjoyable thus far held by the joint branches. A. E. V.

## St. Louis Notes

The Social Democratic Party, together with the Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Association, will give a grand raffle and picnic at Ebersbach's Garden, Arsenal street and Gravois avenue, Sunday, July 23. Tickets, 10 cents a person.

Social Democrats should never forget the International Cigarmakers' Union blue label.

Comrade Blumenthal is making strenuous efforts to get the First Ward Branch on a solid basis and in good working order.

Comrade Heigerwalt, of the Pattern Makers' Union, will do all in his power to get some of the North Side branches on a more substantial basis. He realizes that a solid, active organization and systematic agitation are the secret of success in our movement.

The circulation of the "Social Democratic Herald," "Appeal to Reason" and other good Socialist literature should be pushed more vigorously than heretofore. Comrades Ruesche and Berlinger have been hustling for The Herald and Appeal during the last few weeks.

The Twelfth Ward Branch, with such energetic comrades as Lyons, Ujka and others, is doing good work for our cause.

The sale of "Woman and Socialism" (published by Comrade Benham in San Francisco, Cal.) is being pushed by our St. Louis comrades. The Tenth Ward Branch has just received a lot of "Merrie England" and Herald Leaflets.

OBSERVER.

The Herald is a Socialist paper; it depends on Socialists to push it out. Are you pushing it?

## Massachusetts State Ticket

For Governor,  
WINFIELD P. PORTER,  
Newburyport.  
For Lieutenant-Governor,  
ISAAC W. SKINNER,  
Brockton.  
For Secretary of State,  
CHARLES H. BRADLEY,  
Haverhill.  
For Treasurer,  
C. W. WHITE,  
Winchester.  
For Attorney-General,  
ADDISON W. BARR,  
Worcester.  
For Auditor,  
ANGUS McDONALD,  
Boston.

## Boston's Benediction

So this issue rounds out our Herald's first year of existence. Heartiest congratulations, dear Herald, and many happy returns of the day. As plainly as though it had happened but yesterday do I remember with what joy I hailed your first appearance upon the scene of action, bringing as you did the welcome assurance that the new Socialist party was to have a fitting medium for the expression of the high aims, the devotion to principle and the true Socialistic spirit which had called it into existence, and was therefore bound to succeed. Despite its small size, its typographical errors, and other defects incidental to a new paper, I was so glad simply to know that it was alive, that, looking into the future in the light of this first achievement of the party, the little paper seemed to me perfectly beautiful and all that could be desired!

But in truth we have much reason to be proud of it, and grateful to the brave comrades at headquarters whose self-sacrifice, courage and determination have carried it through those soul-trying days of the reorganization when friends were few, funds nil, enemies numerous and active; and most Social Democrats were still on the fence waiting to see which way the others were going to jump. We in Massachusetts can well afford to give to these comrades their full meed of praise, inasmuch as we were so deeply engrossed with our own local struggle and so impressed with the importance of saving our own state movement and bringing it to the front, that we did but little more than our absolute duty towards helping them out.

This first year of our existence as a party has to a large extent determined the character and established the individuality of our party; and our official organ has contributed largely to that end. If a party's official mouthpiece be rancorous and abusive, the party members, feeding upon such mental diet, naturally and inevitably grow like what they feed upon. If, on the other hand, it is just, logical and infused with the spirit of Socialism, which, being interpreted, is love, the party members will also in that case partake of its nature. After the anniversary celebration in New York, which I had the pleasure of attending, a member of "the other organization" who had been present was asked what he thought of the meeting. "Oh, it was great," he replied. "It was just like the S. D. Herald—all good feeling and enthusiasm for the cause," which I consider a high compliment indeed, both to The Herald and to the New York comrades.

Margaret Haile.

The Haverhill comrades had an outdoor meeting June 24, at Lake Attitash, with sports, refreshments and music. It was well attended and a decided success.

## Connecticut

To the Branches and readers of the Herald of Connecticut, Comrades: Branch 6 of Rockville, knowing that strength and number of Branches in our state is scattered, appeals to you to consider the following proposition: Whether it is possible and practicable to have a state Convention in the near future. The necessity for it is quite apparent. We must have some sort of organization if we want to take part in the election next year. We must also have somebody whose duty it shall be to organize Branches in this state when and wherever possible. We must be prepared for active work in 1900.

Branch 6 will temporarily act as state committee until the Branches throughout the state shall elect one. All correspondence on this matter should be addressed to Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

## NEW BRANCHES

New branches have been organized during the week at following places:

Brooklyn, N. Y. Mooreville, Texas.  
Chicago, Ill. San Antonio, Texas.

## PROPAGANDA FUND.

|                      |      |
|----------------------|------|
| Monte Carlo          | 5.00 |
| Appeal to Reason     | 1.00 |
| Eugene V. Debs       | .50  |
| P. F. Apple          | .50  |
| Joseph Roesche       | 2.50 |
| W. Roper             | .50  |
| M. Josephson         | .50  |
| E. B. Chicago        | 1.00 |
| Greensboro, New York | 2.00 |
| Edelstein, New York  | .25  |
| H. Bearman           | .50  |
| F. Popovich          | .25  |
| S. Milo              | .25  |
| C. Maur              | .14  |
| T. Koberly           | .10  |
| W. Larch             | .10  |
| T. Klein             | .10  |
| A. Millo             | .25  |
| Ch. Koberly          | .11  |
| T. Koberly           | .11  |
| David Robinson       | 1.50 |
| J. A. Behringer      | .50  |
| A. J. Goussier       | .25  |
| A. G. Marshall       | .25  |
| Julius Robinson      | .10  |
| Seymour Stadman      | 1.00 |

## DISCUSSION OF THE DEMANDS FOR FARMERS

### About Bonanza Farms

Some of the opponents of the farmer's program, arguing against giving the farmer any special attention have concluded their remarks by saying, in effect, that the farmer would have to come to socialism, because the same causes would drive him to it as drives the wage worker of the city. Such an idea is based on the belief that conditions would sooner or later get at the farmer as they now do at the city laborer. Doubtless some of these critics have gotten their idea from Laurence Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," which in the second chapter speaks of mortgaged farms and bonanza farms and then observes:

"There is no doubt that these bonanza farms will in the near future increase greatly. Thus our public lands, which were intended for happy homes are in a fair way of becoming no better than penal colonies, and of being robbed of their rich soil for the benefit of capitalist pockets. What will then become of our farmer 'proprietors,' but farmer tenants? \* \* \* Yes, the time will come when the farmers will learn that socialism is the only refuge alike for them and the working classes," etc. (pp. 43.)

Mr. Gronlund now repudiates the above view, as not borne out by later developments. In his "New Economy," pp. 282-283, he says:

"There is one thing that ought to be very encouraging to our small farmer, and that is, that he evidently has nothing now to fear from the direct competition of large syndicates of capitalists. This writer takes great pleasure in acknowledging that he was mistaken, when, a score of years ago, he wrote in his book, 'The Co-operative Commonwealth,' 'There is no doubt that the bonanza farms will in the near future greatly increase in numbers.' That, to be sure, was the natural conclusion to draw from the census reports of 1880, and from all other accounts at the time in regard to these huge domains in all the newer parts of our country. But the census report of 1890 showed that some years previously they must have received some decided check, and by this time we have found out in what the check consists.

"We know now that these very large farms yield during the first years a considerable greater net production than the small farms—that is to say, a larger increase per acre—but at the same time, a much smaller gross production; that is, each acre of these large estates gives a much smaller number of bushels of wheat than each acre of the small farms. This is easy enough to explain: It is because the farms are less carefully cultivated, since this has necessarily to be performed by hired labor, which cannot be very well overlooked (personally supervised), and its results are not perceptible until some time afterward. However, each bushel of wheat is, on these bonanza farms, produced at such a very small cost, that is, during the first few years, while the land is yet virgin soil, that it leaves quite an income per acre. But experience has shown that after a few harvests this so-called 'extensive' cultivation—superficial tillage on a large scale, in spite of its many evident advantages, becomes decidedly unprofitable, so that it never in the long run can compete with 'intensive' cultivation on small farms. While this fact, as already said, should furnish encouragement to the small farmer, it should furnish him at the same time with the valuable lesson not to tie himself to more land than he is able to very carefully cultivate. For the future evidently belongs to 'intense' tillage \* \* \* In other words, our country will very likely in a not remote future be covered with gardens. \* \* \*

Mr. Gronlund observes that while the farms implied co-operation, it was co-operation of capital. He thinks co-operation of the most democratic sort may come when gardens take the place of farms, by reason of the intense form of cultivation. Agriculture, he says, has ceased to be the basic industry, and is now the handmaid of manufactures.

The land of the farmer, he very properly observes, will be the last to be touched by the wand of collectivism, and here is where one mistake of the Single Taxers comes in. They fail to distinguish between city land and country land. The Single Taxer cannot appeal to the farmer at all; for it practically aims at a confiscation of all the land values throughout the country. The Socialists, Mr. Gronlund says truly, deem it highly unjust to deprive one class of their property without compensation, and leave all other property owners in peaceable possession. Such a plan has not the ghost of a chance, for "it would shock the moral sense of the people."

While the latter may seem somewhat in the nature of a digression, it nevertheless helps round out our grasp of the farmer question. The balance of my quotation from Mr. Gronlund is worth the closest attention, and I urge the opponents of the farmer's program to give it due weight. To deal rationally with the subject of the farmer's program we need ALL the facts. This later testi-

mony with regard to the bonanza farms tends to correct a very erroneous and also a very prevalent view on the subject. Frederic Heath.

Milwaukee.

## Want to be Understood

I note the reply of Comrade Heath to the resolutions passed by the local branch concerning the farmers' plank and I think that he misunderstood the resolution when he says, "they naively state that they do not know whether they are in favor of it or against it, and so want the thing decided by vote." On the contrary we distinctly said that, "we, believing the farmers' plank to be an injury to the growth of the S. D. P., etc. We have no objections to the debate being continued, but we believe that the question ought to be settled before the next national convention meets so that we can present a united front to the enemy. We believe that the question can be settled with less friction through the referendum than by means of a national convention. Now a word on the "Demands for Farmers." The socialist platform or "demands" must be founded on the class struggle itself, if we desire to maintain a consistent position. That which benefits the capitalist class is an injury to the working class. What one gains the other loses. Hence we must be a party advocating strictly the interest of the working class whether in the city or country. Kautsky in his pamphlet entitled "The Capitalist Class," says: "When one speaks of the classes which are steadily becoming the sole property-holders and exploiters, the monopolists of the instruments of production, distinction must be made between capitalists and landlords; and furthermore, the fact must not be overlooked that to speak of the small holder of land as a landlord, is as great a misuse of terms as to speak of the small holder of capital as a capitalist. The capitalist system of production is rapidly extinguishing both of these small holders, and congesting into the hands of a few whatever valuable property still lingers in the hands of the small man." Now I believe that the above contains the essence of the whole dispute over the Farmers' demands. We see with Kautsky that "the small holders of land as well as the small holder of capital" can not (in the strict sense of the terms as we use them today) be considered as landlords or capitalists. But it does not follow that because they are not landlords or capitalists, that they are (strictly speaking) wage laborers and members of the wage slave class. They are the connecting link that is growing weaker and smaller every day and are constantly being absorbed by the working class. Capitalist alchemy transforms the small holders of land and capital into wage slaves. Hence I claim that we can go to the small owner of land and capital, without the "demands" and use the same argument with him that we use with the proletariat in the cities. If the small land owner cannot see the truth of our argument that every labor saving machine introduced in the cities means a smaller demand for his products, that every trust organized affects him in the same manner, then we can rely on the capitalist system to dispossess him of his small advantage and possibly he may then see things in a different light; if not, then he is only fit for the life that this system can bestow. Furthermore, the great bonanza farm of the south and northwest is just becoming a factor in the transformation of small holders of land into wage slaves and it is a practical demonstration to point the small farmer to, showing him the futility of striving to "survive" under the capitalist system. I also believe that Comrade Rosa Proletaire pointed out that the large landlord would have as great an advantage in proportion as the small farmer if our "demands" were carried out. However, let the discussion continue, but at the same time let us hew to the line with no compromise whatever, and I hope we will settle the question before the next convention is called to order.

Terre Haute.

Jas. Oneal.

## New Hampshire Notes

There are 25 Social Democratic voters in the city of Berlin who ought to be organized before the next election in 1900.

Before the Spring town election a Social Democratic caucus was held in Seabrook, and a ticket put up which polled 35 votes, though no one had been there to organize them. They caught it from Amesbury and Newburyport, over in Massachusetts. Oh! it's catching!

South Hampton has several active Social Democrats who will be heard from as soon as they get ready to carry the town. We won't call any names. Plans for a tour in the state by Com. Mary E. Lease are being matured.

A State organization has been effected with the following officers: Chairman, F. G. R. Gordon; vice-chairman, Chas. H. Mellen; secretary, Daniel Fisher; treasurer, Charles Stewart; organizer, Sumner F. Claffin; deputy organizer Geo. Howe.

S. F. C.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscription a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other party reads the discarded Declaration of Independence.



